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A MEMORIAL

ON THE

Apparently approaching War,

Most humbly addressed

TO THE KING.

Kensington, 24th Dec. 1823.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

VERY numerous have been the occasions on which your Majesty was addressed by me, while you was Prince Regent. I warned you, and in good time I warned you, of the consequences of the late war with the United States. I foretold the successful resistance that you would meet with. Such disgrace as our arms incurred, it was next to impossible for any one to foresee; but the grand result; namely, the speedy creation of an American navy, was distinctly predicted; and your Majesty was earnestly besought by me to think betimes of the effect of such creation. At divers

other epochs, you were warned of the consequences that your Ministers were pursuing. In those times, when your Majesty's fleets were gaining victories on the Serpentine River, and when the Parliament was voting millions of pounds sterling for the purpose of erecting monuments to perpetuate what were called the glories of the war; at those times the hirelings of all sorts, reproached me with mourning amidst the "*general joy*;" with weeping over my country's triumphs. My answer was: Your joy is foolishness; your triumphs are disgraces: in return for your present reproaches, I will, when the time comes, laugh while your knees knock together. Thank God the millions of money were not expended in the erection of monuments. One boasting name has been stupidly given to a bridge; and one monstrous and indecent statue has been erected, expressive of falsehood and exhibiting a mark of national lewdness. The millions, however, have not been expended in this way.

This much of good has, at any rate, come out of the evil: the poverty arising from the dear purchase of the triumphs, has taken away the ability to render our shame as immortal as stone and mortar could have made it.

For several years past, your Majesty has been advised to open the Sessions of Parliament by stating your *great satisfaction* at those "*strongest assurances*," which you continued to receive of the *peaceful* disposition of other Powers. I always thought this unwise. For a King to take every opportunity of expressing his *satisfaction* at seeing no prospect of war, appeared to me to say that the King would have been *afraid* of war, if threatened with it: and, I have always understood that, in order to preserve peace, you must let those who are naturally opposed to you, *see that you are not afraid of war*. Be this as it may, I can hardly believe, that your Majesty will be advised to tell the Parliament in February next, that you continue to receive, from all other powers, the *strongest assurances of a peaceful disposition*. Yet, you *will* receive those assurances; for, so curious is the position of your Majesty's kingdom become, that the *peace of the world*, that peace the most general and the most perfect; that the preserving of all the present relationships between your Majesty and all other powers, is precisely the thing and the only thing wanted by those powers who envy us all that we possess, and who are determined to make us, if possible, as little as we have been great. Little, in all likelihood, did your Majesty imagine that such would be the effect of that peace-loving,

that Holy Alliance, of which your Ministers expressed your Royal approbation.

Seven clear years have not yet passed over our heads, when the war trump begins again to blow; and begins, too, on the part of those very Ministers of your Majesty, who so exulted and were so praised, because they had, as it was asserted, rendered the disturbing of the peace of Europe *impossible*. I beseech your Majesty, not to listen to those who speak to you nothing but soft and smooth things. I beseech you not to bestow your exclusive attention to those who present you with nothing but *flattering pictures*. In the hope that you will not regard flattery as the test of loyalty, I shall beseech your Majesty to look at the picture which this kingdom is now actually exhibiting to the world.

I take it for granted that it will be admitted that the writings in the *Courier* newspaper, contain (when they treat of matters relating to peace and war), matter which your Majesty's Ministers wish to have promulgated. I take this for granted. Of course, in referring to those articles, I refer to documents expressive of the sentiments and designs of those Ministers. What, then, is the picture which this kingdom now exhibits to the world? Perhaps, the following little notice from the paper just mentioned, may serve very appropriately, to place in the foreground of this picture:

"We understand notice has been given to the Army Surgeons and Assistant-Surgeons, on half-pay, that *their services are likely to be soon required*. The new levy is to be raised by

"BEAT OF DRUM, and orders
 "have been issued, with a view
 "to the *more expeditious* raising of
 "the men, for the officers em-
 "ployed to repair to those parts
 "of the kingdom in which they
 "may be supposed to possess the
 "most influence."

By beat of DRUM! It has been asked, whether this beat be intended to draw together English clodhoppers, or to disperse the Holy Brotherhood, about to assemble in Congress to discuss the affairs of America. Wretched creatures who are starving upon half-a-crown a week, without clothing, lodging or firing, want nothing to induce them to cast off the old sacks and hay-bands from their bodies; to quit their toil in the gravel-pits; and to come and be clothed in good woollens and linens; to live a life of ease, and to have seven shillings and sevenpence a week, besides lodging and firing and candle. "*Beat of Drum*," is, therefore, unnecessary for them. The beat of drum, must, then, I should think, be intended for the other purpose; that is to say, to *frighten the Holy Allies*; and, particularly, the French.

Before I proceed any further; before I say more of the *picture* of which I have spoken, I will insert for your Majesty's perusal, first, an article from the Madrid Gazette; that is to say, an article written in Paris and sent to be printed and published at Madrid. Next, I will insert a commentary of the Courier, upon this Madrid article. When I have done that, I shall humbly beseech your Majesty to look at the singular figure that we make.

From the Madrid Gazette, 4th Dec. 1823, published in the Courier on the 16th Dec.

"ON THE STATE OF THE TWO AMERICAS.

"We have already said, that the Courier of London affirms that Spanish America is *independent de facto*, and consequently *de jure*. We find ourselves compelled to say, that the Courier sees through a telescope which misrepresents to his eyes the Empire of the Incas. In fact, he expects his readers to believe, on the authority of his assertions, facts the least credible in the minds of impartial men. The question must be solved by logical argument, which, though ancient, has the advantage of being more reasonable, more just, and less arbitrary.—A Province is called *independent de facto*, which being an integral portion of a kingdom, lives tranquil under a Government, and enjoys its protection, paying at the same time to the said Government the just tribute of obedience. Let the Courier examine under this point of view the Viceroyalty of Lower Peru, from the sources of the Rhine to its mouth; let him contemplate from the fertile valley of Jauja, the immense provinces of Huancavelica, Huamanga, and Arequipa, and he will see how, from all quarters, the subject Peruvians pay the homage which they owe, receive commands, demand justice, and solicit pardons, of the ancient metropolis of Cusco, in which Lieutenant General Don Joseph de la Serna (Viceroy of His Catholic Majesty) has fixed his residence since the year 1821.—Let the Courier elevate his telescope a little, and, leaving the Cordilleras of the Andes, look to Upper Peru, and he will see the tranquil and subject jurisdictions of La Paez, Oruro, Chuquisaca, Cochabamba, Potosi, and Santa-Cruz-de-la-Sierra, which, abjuring the pretended felicity of their metropolis, Buenos Ayres, find themselves happy under the paternal Government of the delegated Representative in those States of our beloved Sovereign. Let his scrutinizing eyes dwell here awhile, and he will see that the orders dictated by La Serna are executed in the provinces of Peru with as much regularity as those of George IV. in Great Britain; that from all quarters merchants arrive in the intermediate ports, to exchange the rich metals

they produce for cloths which are exported from the banks of the Thames, and all the pieces of coin which they receive in return are ornamented with the effigy of Ferdinand VII. And in spite of all these truths, which the Journalists of the Court of London are thoroughly convinced of, how can the *Courier* venture to affirm that this portion of Spanish America is *independent de facto*?—Perhaps he is ignorant that the Insurgents are only masters of the district of Trujillo and a small portion of that of Tarma, whose unfortunate inhabitants neglect no means to rid themselves of the iron yoke which is imposed upon them by violence, as the parties of Guanuco and Conchucos have frequently manifested by earnestly soliciting the aid of the Royal army. Perhaps he is ignorant that all the popular commotions which that country has sustained since the year 1821, were ephemeral, and provoked by revolutionary enthusiasts?—And who kept them in subjection? who made them bite the dust in the fields of Guaqui, Villapuerto, Ayohuma, Viluca and others, if it was not the Peruvians? Let them answer the question, the Generals Goyeneche, Pezuela and Ramirez, who had the honour of heading them in these glorious battles, and who now live happily in this capital. Ask these Generals who wove the laurel wreaths which adorn their brows, if it was not the Peruvians, who caused to vanish, like smoke, the famed armies of Colombia, Buenos Ayres, and Chili, which, in the year 1820, styled themselves masters of the ancient empire of Manco-Capac?—Who were they who routed 4,000 insurgents at Ica on the 26th April, 1822, and the same force at Moquega, on the 21st of last January? Who were they, if it was not the Peruvians, who, entering triumphantly into Lima, in the month of June last, accompanied by their relatives, and animated by the most lively joy, replaced amidst re-echoing *Vivats* the portrait of our King, which some wretched adventurers had profaned during the space of four years?

“And who were they, if not the Peruvians, who forced these adventurers shamefully to retreat and shut themselves up, covered with opprobrium, in the forts of Callao? And in the face of these facts, which fame has promulgated even to the banks of the Thames, how can the *Courier* venture to advance that Spanish America

is *independent de facto*? If, however, any doubt remain in his mind, let him compare the Royal army to that of the Insurgents, their resources and their economy, the civil and political virtues of La Serna and his companions in arms, firm in their fidelity to our august Monarch, and the execrable lives of Torrelagüe and his satellites; the fraternal union of the former, whose sole care is the preservation of the provinces, which the goodness of their Sovereign has confided to them, and the inconsistency of the latter, divided by differences of opinion, diversity of interests, by opposite sentiments, and the fatal contact of passions.—But this object must be separately treated of, as well as the heterogeneous elements which compose the miserable and insignificant revolutionary army, and the necessity of annihilating them before they become homogeneous, and ere that, united, they occasion greater evils than those which we have hitherto endured. These, we repeat, and other matters, we shall successively discuss with the distinctness and truth which an affair of such importance requires.”

Answer of the Courier.

“The question of South American Independence is becoming, daily, one of increasing interest and importance; not only from its manifest connection with the policy of the leading Continental Cabinets, but from its specific relations with British commerce. The sentiments of the Spanish Government, with regard to its transatlantic Colonies, are of moment only as they may be considered to speak the sentiments, and, by inference, to announce the corresponding designs, of one or more of the Allies of Spain. Of, and by, herself, Spain can do nothing to recover a single inch of the territories she has lost, and she must be fully convinced of her own powerless condition. When, therefore, we find, as in the demi-official article from the *Madrid Gazette*, which we published on Tuesday, not only a broad denial of a notorious fact, namely, that nearly the whole of what were once the Spanish Colonies of America, are now independent of the mother country, but a distinct intimation that the attempt must be made to ‘annihilate,’ what is called ‘the insignificant revolutionary army’ there, we are warranted in supposing that at least a strong disposition

exists in certain quarters to extend the practical operation of the principle which produced the late Spanish war; across the Atlantic. Upon that point, however, we shall not now touch, but wait until we see this disposition ripening into activity. Our present purpose is to establish by a series of conclusive facts, the position we have advanced, and which has been so intrepidly denied by the *Madrid Gazette*, that the whole of South America, with the exception of a portion of Peru, is, *de facto*, independent. We shall only premise, what will strike every one, who is at all conversant with the subject, that our information has been derived from authentic and valuable sources. We shall begin with Mexico, because the events connected with that country have been much less before the public than those of Colombia, Chili, and Peru, and because our information from that quarter happens to be of very recent date. Mexico has a population of somewhat above eight millions, and Spain has not had a single soldier, governor, commandant, or recognised authority, in the whole country for the last two years and a half. The only semblance of possession still retained by the Mother Country, is the occupation of the castle of St. John de Ulloa, by General Lemour, with a force of about three hundred soldiers. This castle is situated on a small island, or rather swamp, near Vera Cruz, which city has suffered much, but not to the extent stated, from a bombardment of it by Lemour. The consequences of this hostile proceeding on the part of Lemour, have been, as we yesterday stated, that the Spanish Commissioners who were negotiating with the Mexican Government for favourable conditions of future intercourse with the Mother Country, upon the basis of recognising the independence of Mexico, were peremptorily dismissed—all Spaniards ordered to quit the country—and the commerce of the port of Vera Cruz removed to the port of Alvarado. A Declaration of War has also been formally declared against Spain by the Mexican Government. But it has been asked, 'Who or what the Mexican Government is?' The Executive Government of Mexico is composed of three Members, at the head of which is General Victoria, a man of superior powers, and of whose singularly romantic history we have heard most extraordinary and curious details. All persons who have had opportunities of approaching him, and observing

his character, speak of him as a second Washington, uniting, at once, the active talents of a soldier, the prudence and sagacity of a statesman, and the wisdom of a legislator. Under his auspices Mexico is about to receive a central form of Government, with a Congress, which was to meet on the 31st of October, when the Constitution would be definitely settled. We may soon expect, therefore, to hear something of the proceedings of this Congress. VICTORIA looks with great anxiety to England, and would eagerly embrace any opportunity of establishing permanent relations with this country. The British residents at Vera Cruz, have, of course, suffered much inconvenience, and some loss, from the hostile attack of Lemour, and at the date of our last advices from that city, (October 11,) were sending all their property into the interior. The town was almost deserted. Victoria was of opinion that it must be sacrificed, if necessary, for the national honour and character. It was determined not to open the port again, until the castle of St. John de Ulloa had surrendered. Victoria afforded every protection to our countrymen which it was in his power to do. He was urged to conclude an armistice with Lemour, to enable the British to remove their property. He acceded to every thing that could be reasonably asked, but Lemour would listen to nothing but a general arrangement of differences. An armistice would not suit him.—The querist who wished to know, 'Who or what the Mexican Government is?' showed he stood much in need of information, for he followed up his interrogatory by the following statement:—'For our own part,' says he 'all we know is, that Mexico was some time ago distracted by civil wars, and an adventurer named Iturbide proclaimed himself Emperor. This gentleman's Imperial dignity evaporated more quickly than that of the Corsican Charlatan; but Iturbide contrived to escape with a good round sum of money, and is living in splendour somewhere in the Continent of Europe.' The fact is, Iturbide, who really raised himself to temporary power, by means of a faction, was driven from his elevation by the voice of the nation at large. He was a mere adventurer, and had recommended himself so little to popular favour, that when he attempted to escape, after his deposition, the populace arrested his flight by cutting the harness from the horses. Nor did he 'contrive to

escape with a good round sum.' The present Government of Mexico honourably recognised all the debts he incurred during his short reign; undertook to replace to private individuals, the convoys of money seized by him on their way from Mexico to Vera Cruz; and granted to Iturbide himself, the yearly sum of 25,000 dollars, on condition that he should reside in Italy, whither he was subsequently conveyed, with his family, in an English vessel, at the expense of the Mexican Government.—Having touched upon these incidental topics, for the purpose of putting our readers in possession of the most accurate and most recent information respecting them, we shall now briefly advert to the main consideration, namely, has Mexico established her independence? So far as a complete separation from the Mother Country—a successful renunciation of her authority, and a determined spirit to resist all attempts, if any should be made, to regain that authority, may be received as evidences of independence, Mexico is to all intents and purposes, independent. There is no province, city, or town, throughout that vast empire, where a Spanish party can be said to exist, and the measure which has been adopted, according to the last accounts, of ordering out of the country all the old Spaniards, in consequence of the conduct of Lemour, will effectually relieve it from those partial intrigues which, although too insignificant to subvert the existing order of things, might still be potent enough to harass and agitate the Government. It appears too, that French emissaries have been at work there; but their machinations were detected, and themselves thrown into prison. It may perhaps be in our power, ere long, to communicate some curious information upon this subject.—Well then; here is a somewhat difficult task, we think, for the *Madrid Gazette*, to prove that Mexico is not, *de facto*, independent; unless it should be prepared to assert that the three hundred men cooped up with Lemour in the castle of St. John de Ulloa constitute the sovereignty of the Mother Country. We do not say that Mexico has passed through her transition from connexion to separation and consolidated all her institutions. This must necessarily be a work of time, but we have a security, in the unanimous feeling of the Mexicans themselves, that there will be no re-action in favour of Old Spain, and we have the no less important security,

in the character and talents of Victoria, that the progress towards tranquillity and a settled form of Government will be steady and certain.—We must resume this subject to-morrow, for it would engross too much of our room to enter now upon the consideration of the other South American Republics. In what we have said, we have studiously confined ourselves to those facts which prove the independence, *de facto*, of Mexico. On some future occasion we shall submit to our readers a mass of information in our possession, demonstrative of the value and importance of that independence to England.—The power of Spain, in Mexico, is limited to the occupation of a solitary castle on the sea coast; and in Columbia, it does not extend beyond the possession of a single fortress at Puerto Cabello. It is doubtful, indeed, whether, at the moment of writing this, the flag of Old Spain continues to wave over its towers; for, the last accounts represented the preparations which had been made for reducing it, both by sea and land, as of so extensive a kind, that it has probably long since fallen.—The Republic of Columbia comprises the provinces of Venezuela, New Grenada, and Quito, and here, for thirteen years, a contest has been maintained against the efforts of the Mother Country. In 1814, immediately after the return of Ferdinand, Morillo landed in Caraccas with ten thousand veteran troops from the Peninsula.—At that time, the Spaniards held every fortress in Colombia, while Bolivar absolutely could not command a thousand muskets in his whole army. The war commenced—reinforcements were sent out from Spain, and every effort which Spain could make, (under circumstances ten times more favourable for exertion than she can now command), was made; yet—one by one, fortresses, cities, towns, and villages, have renounced her domination, and formed themselves into a Republic which has now, for years, exercised all the acts of an independent Power. There is not, with a single exception of Puerto Cabello, any one portion of that vast territory, which extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific, under Spanish dominion, or, in any manner, directly or indirectly, recognising the authority of Spain. On the contrary, a regular form of government has been established with a representative assembly, in which, as we are assured, *vide* discussions are carried on, that would do no discredit to similar assemblies in

countries much more civilized. Of their real merits, however, we may expect soon to have the means of judging, for we believe it is intended that reports of their proceedings shall appear. Great and persevering exertions too, are making to extend the benefits of education to all classes of the community, by the establishment of schools where tuition is carried on upon the Lancasterian system. In short, it would be impossible to name any one essential act of sovereignty which has not been performed by Colombia; and yet we are to be told that it is premature, nay, even untrue, to assert that Colombia is *de facto* an independent State.—With respect to Buenos Ayres, the same may be said as we have affirmed of Colombia. It has been free these twelve years, and there does not exist, nor has there existed for a very long period, a single Spanish soldier, officer, or authority of any description, that can give even the semblance of a connexion between this State and the Mother Country. Dissensions have, indeed, taken place here, as in Mexico, upon the question of how they will govern themselves, and whether a federative or a central Government shall be established; but in all these disputes, and in all the ministerial and other official changes to which they have, from time to time, led, no party has ever stood forth to recommend a re-union with Spain. They may quarrel, it seems, upon all other things; but, upon this point, a perfect unanimity of sentiment prevails. A silly inference has been attempted to be drawn from this circumstance against the validity of the general arguments in support of the actual Independence of South America, as if all history did not teach us that a people unanimous not to be ruled in a certain way, no sooner get thus far, than they forthwith begin to dispute about the way they will be ruled. We are quite aware of the sound conclusion thence to be drawn, against trying rash experiments of political change; but our present business is not with principles, but with facts; and we affirm the fact to be, that with the exception of Peru, in no one portion of what were formerly the Colonies of Spain can now be found a party, scarcely indeed, an individual, desirous of re-establishing the ancient relations. There is a wide difference between determining what we will not do, and what we will: the first is often easily resolved upon, and no less easily performed:

but it is the latter which sets at work all our passions, opinions, schemes, and passions.—What has been said of Mexico, Colombia, and Buenos Ayres, may be equally affirmed of Chili. Spain is not in possession of an inch of land throughout that vast territory; Peru, as we have already observed, is the only part of South America where there is a Royalist force in any strength, and the *Madrid Gazette*, in its demi-official Article, has not neglected to make the best use it could of this remnant of the former dominion of Spain. Of Mexico, of Guatimala, of Colombia, of Buenos Ayres, of Chili, it says nothing; but Peru furnishes it with sounding names, and apparently conclusive facts. We do not intend, in this article, to reply at length to the case made out by the *Madrid Gazette*; but there are one or two points that may be briefly adverted to. It is true there is a Royalist army still in Peru; but we are assured, in letters very recently received from that country, that that army has no power or authority beyond the limits of its military occupation. Most of the events, too, which are mentioned as proofs of the prosperous condition of the Royal cause, occurred many years ago, since which a great change has taken place. Bolivar, according to the last accounts, was marching upon Peru, and expected to be joined by a considerable Chilian army. When he is ready to take the field against Lascerna and Canterac, we may consider the final struggle at hand, and be prepared to learn that the last Spaniards have been driven from the Continent of South America.—The Spanish Government maintained in its Colonies, previously to the Revolution, 50,000 regular troops; and since the Revolution it has despatched reinforcements at different times, to at least the amount of 40,000 more. Where are they now? None have returned to the Peninsula. The contest, in which they have successively perished, has been carried on for fourteen years, without the aid of any foreign power (for the British Legion, whose services were so important in Colombia, scarcely require to be mentioned in the general estimate of the means employed), and during that period we could enumerate the names of upwards of twenty Spanish Generals, including Morillo, Pezuela, Ramirez, Montes, Morales, Cevallos, Correa, Calzada, &c. &c. who were forced to abandon the positions they held. What probability then is there

that any force which Spain can send, we might almost say, any force that Europe can send, could ever reduce these vast territories to subjection?"

It is impossible for your Majesty to read a hundredth part of the matter contained in the London newspapers. It is next to impossible for you to be at all acquainted with more than a very small portion of those papers. You know, doubtless, the contents of all despatches which go to, and come from, your Minister for Foreign Affairs. But, Sir, the controversy carried on in the newspapers is of great importance. This is the way in which each Government appeals to its own people; and, for you to know the real state of the dispute, you must know what is put forth, in this manner, relative to that dispute. Yet, I am of opinion that your Majesty seldom sees publications such as those which I am now endeavouring to get under your eye. I shall annex a copy of the Petition, which I addressed to your Majesty from Long Island, in the year 1817. I have recently republished that petition; but I am induced to send forth one more edition of it.

I am satisfied that your Majesty never yet saw (even up to *this hour*), that petition. I am satisfied that you never either *saw* or *heard* of it. I am not sure, but I believe, that your Majesty does not know that there is such a person as William Cobbett now alive; and, I would almost venture to assert, that you no more think that the writings of such a person are worthy of your attention, than you think the buzzing of a wasp or a fly, worthy of your

attention. Far be it from me to found this opinion upon a belief in any negligence or want of talent in your Majesty: such conclusion would be contrary to all the facts, worthy of belief, that I have heard. I found the opinion upon the indefatigableness of those who have the power to stand between you and the press. I am well aware of all the obstacles that writings like mine must have to overcome, before they can get within, even the outer gate of your palace. "Do you think he will pay attention to it?" said a friend to me, when I showed him the Petition of 1817. "No," said I, "nor will he ever see it."—"Why, then, do you write it?"—"Because the nation will read it; and because the time must come, when that nation will be convinced, how wise it would have been in the King to yield to my prayer."

Exactly thus, has it been. Your Majesty, doubtless, saw enough to disgust you, of those calumnies, which the vile London Press were pouring out against me, in the year just named; but, not a word did that Press say, about this Petition, and not a word of that Petition did your Majesty ever see. This being my firm belief, it may be asked why I address your Majesty now? My answer is the same that it was before. It is my duty to state to you what I think upon this important subject. The regulation of recent years, has completely cut off all direct and certain communication between your Majesty and me. If an Englishman could now, as an Englishman formerly could, and as a Frenchman or a Russian now can, put a Memorial

out of his own hand, into that of his Sovereign, that which I am about to say in print, would, probably, not be said in print at all. The Petition of 1817 would never have been in print, if I could have been *sure* that it would have been given into the hand of your Majesty. I am aware, and I was aware in 1817, that it might be made better for the Nation not to publish these things, provided they were actually put into the hand of your Majesty, in Manuscript. But being now cut off, as we are, from all direct communication with our King; being compelled to Petition, in fact, a Secretary of State, if we Petition at all; this being the case, we must resort to the Press; and, where the use of that is denied us, we must keep the matter to ourselves or resort to the Press of some other country.

Not having, then, the most distant hope that your Majesty will ever see this Memorial, I should certainly refrain from what I am now doing, were I not of opinion, that the making use of your Majesty's name will have some effect in drawing attention to the subject. Supposing you, however, in virtue of some unaccountable accident, to confer upon this paper the honour of perusing it, permit me to hold up before you, the *picture* which we now present to the world. A people, except those who live on the Taxes; a whole people, with this exception, plunged in embarrassment, in dread of ruin; or else, suffering the most deplorable bodily misery. The owners of the land; the men of ancient family; the natural Magistracy of the Country, seeing their estates pass away, and seeing themselves

actually driven from their mansions by a race of base Jobbers, no small part of whom, are actually Jews. We see this effect produced by a Debt, contracted for the purpose of putting down, of crushing for ever, "*revolutionary principles*." To effect this purpose, a debt of seven hundred millions, has been contracted. For having successfully waged war against those principles Lords LIVERPOOL and CASTLE-REAGH were made Knights of the Garter, even *before there were vacancies in the Order*. I have before spoken of the victories on the Serpentine River; I have before alluded to the vote of millions to commemorate the triumph over "*Revolutionary principles*;" and I have now laid before your Majesty, from a Ministerial Paper, the "*BEAT OF DRUM*," in favour of the revolutions now going on in South America!

Only twelve months ago, your Majesty's Ministers declared (and they acted upon the declaration), that, let what would take place, "*for this country they were determined to have peace*." In virtue of this *determination*, the French subjugated Spain; took possession of her Fortresses and Ports; and *now*, when the revolutions in South America have been, thus, three parts quelled in reality, by the legitimates; now, there is to be *beat of drum* in England, in favour of of those revolutions!

Your Majesty's Prime Minister called the invasion of Spain by France, a most "*unprovoked aggression*;" so called it, the President of the Board of Trade. Your Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs most devoutly and fervently, and in open Parliament,

prayed for the success of the Spaniards: and the Spaniards not having had success; the Spaniards having been defeated by the French; the Spanish Fortresses, not forgetting Cadiz, having been taken possession of by the French; those who had lately fought with England against the French having been put down by the French; Spain, which had cost England a hundred and fifty millions of money, on the ground that she was the outwork of England and Ireland; this very Spain, having been actually subjugated by the French, your Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who had openly prayed for the success of the Spaniards, orders your Majesty's Envoy to congratulate the King of Spain on the event.

If it were proper to pray for the success of the Spaniards, it was natural to lament their defeat. Those Spaniards who were at the head of affairs when the French entered Spain, had, for the most part, fought on the side of England, during the former war, in order to drive the French out of Spain, and to preserve that *outwork* to England. Many of these men having had, through the humanity and generosity of the French, the means of reaching your Majesty's Fortress of Gibraltar, were either *refused permission to land*, or were compelled instantly to quit the Fortress! Some of them committed themselves to the mercy of the waves; others, fleeing from this English hospitality, sought shelter amongst the barbarians of Africa, who were well known to regard Christians as dogs, and to make them slaves when they can.

And, it is at the very moment

that the Spanish revolutionists are thus treated at Gibraltar; it is at this very moment, that we have rattled in our ears "**THE BEAT OF DRUM**," in support of the South American Revolution!

Your Majesty had, some few years ago, a Knight of the Order of the Bath, whom your Majesty was advised to cashier, not only as a Knight of the Bath, but as a Captain of the Navy: amongst the curious things of the picture which we present to the world, one, and not the least curious, is, that this discarded Knight and Captain, is, at this time, most successfully (as report says), carrying on the war *in favour of South American independence*; while the Courier tells us, that we at home, are preparing for the same war, by "**BEAT OF DRUM**." Far, however, is this from being all; for, it seems that the gallant cashiered Knight and Captain has selected, as the scene of his exploits, the rich colony of your Majesty's ally, his **MOST FAITHFUL** Majesty, the King of Portugal! But, that which gives peculiar point to this part of the picture, is, the lucky concurrence of these three facts: first, that the Courier proclaims the success of the South American revolution by "**BEAT OF DRUM**;" second, that the only man of note that has been fighting zealously and efficiently in the cause of that revolution, is the very man whom you were advised to strip of the *Order of the Bath*; third, that the colony that he has so mainly assisted to revolutionize, belongs to that **MOST FAITHFUL** Sovereign, whom your Majesty has so recently decorated with the *Order of the Garter*, just after the **MOST**

FAITHFUL person had, (doubtless in consequence of the French having marched into Spain), effected a *counter-revolution*, and re-established absolute Government in Portugal.

If there were any thing still wanting to finish this picture, it would be the well known fact; the fact which hardly a living creature is unacquainted with, that the Catholics of Ireland, are treated like

* * * * *
while the Courier newspaper, who has constantly maintained that the Catholics of Ireland *ought to be* thus treated, has the audacity, the monstrous turpitude, to represent the Catholics of Mexico as an *oppressed people*; and while it has the more monstrous folly to believe that the Catholics of Mexico will leap into the arms of those who sustain the Orangemen of Ireland!

Look, then, Sir, I humbly beseech you, at this picture; only a very few of the parts of which, I have remarked. We may, without the smallest hesitation, assert, that for the nation to be preserved, by the authors of such a mass of inconsistencies, is impossible. It is not necessary to stop to reason upon the matter: we may pronounce with the certainty of being right; that the men who called for the Foreign Enlistment Bill in 1818; that the men who began the negotiation of 1822, who begun their endeavours to keep the French out of Spain, by declaring that England was *resolved to have Peace for herself*; that the men who promulgate an education project for the Blacks in the West Indies, while the Courier is proceeding **BY BEAT OF DRUM**, in the revolutionizing of South

America; that the men who can do these things, must, if suffered to continue to possess influence, reduce the power of their country, is as certain as that fire, if applied to the fagot, must reduce it to ashes.

The papers which I have inserted above are not worthy of attention any further than as showing that the parties are out of humour with one another. The Spanish writer naturally insists that the colonies are not independent in fact; and the Courier as naturally insists that they are independent. But the best answer to the Courier would be found in asking him, whether he believes that there is any Government in the Spanish Colonies so firmly established as the *Government of the Cortes, only eighteen months ago*? He will hardly have the effrontery to say that he believes this; and yet, the Government of the Cortes is as completely dissolved, as a bit of ice exposed to the burning sun for a month. It is no more. The very elements of which it was composed, are gone: It had its Chamber of Deputies; it had its Councils, its Ministers, its Departments; it had its Army and its *Loans*: and these are all as completely annihilated; the annihilation is as complete as annihilation can be.

In the foregoing article the Courier tells us that there is a hero in Mexico, who is a *second Washington*. There was a hero there some time back, whom they called a second Washington; but they dethroned him, and he is now living in Florence or Leghorn. We are told that there is but *one* fortress in Venezuela, and that there is only one in Mexico, now

held by the Spaniards; but there was no fortress at all in Old Spain that was held by any body but the Cortes.

In Portugal, all was said to be perfectly established. The **MOST FAITHFUL** King himself had not only sworn to the Constitution, but he had, I believe, assented to the banishment of his Queen, who, as your Majesty knows, is flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone, merely because she also would not swear to the Constitution: yet, even that famous government was overturned in a day. The French army did not march into Portugal. Not a single hostile soldier set his foot within the territories of that kingdom. Portuguese liberty fell as he falls, who is killed by the wind of a ball.

After this, it is a little too much to tell us that Mexico is an *independent nation*, merely because it is in a state of commotion. It has *no government*. There is no government in any one of the Colonies. The Courier tells us that there is a legislative assembly in Venezuela in which there was a *good deal of debating*. And there were assemblies in Spain and Portugal, in which there was a good deal of debating. If the existence of a great deal of debating were a proof of the existence of independence and of fixed and permanent government, where could there be independence more complete or government more permanently established than in Spain or Portugal?

The change was produced in the Peninsula, as it is called, by the presence of a regular Army. This army, however, had little or no *fighting* to perform. To show it-

self was sufficient. There were, at most, but a hundred thousand Frenchmen. There were several millions of Spaniards; and, more, as we were told, than two hundred thousand of them under arms. Yet, all fell at the approach of the French Army. Spain was overrun with as much facility as dogs overrun a sheep-walk. To the very hour of the fall of Cadiz, we were told of Patriot armies and Guirellas, and of a people resolved to die, rather than yield their liberty. When Cadiz fell, however, the prostituted Press of London discovered, all of a sudden, that the Spanish people were a very base people; that the Priests had persuaded them to prefer slavery to liberty; and that the *drones* of Priests had wonderful weight with this people, because the *drones* used to feed the *lazy* Nation, at the Convent doors. So that, it seems, even the sagacious persons of the London Press had been, with regard to the state of Spain, in profound ignorance, until the actual fall of Cadiz.

This having been the case, with regard to Spain herself, why may it not be the case with regard to her Colonies? Indeed I am convinced that it is the case with regard to those Colonies; that is to say, I am convinced that those Colonies are perfectly ready to follow the example of the Mother Country. The power of the Priests is as great in the one as in the other. We drove the French out of Spain, because, and only because, we had the Priests on our side. It is not rational to believe that the people of South America have ceased to be Catholics; and it is still less rational to believe that they will all at once become ena-

moured with the rulers of Ireland.

There are powerful parties in all the States of South America; and these parties are, in some cases, opposed to the Government of Old Spain. With *great aid from without*, these parties might establish independent Governments; but, *never without such aid*, unless we could annihilate the intriguing faculties of Europe. It is said, and in the *Moniteur*, too, that the Spanish vessels of war are preparing at Cadiz to *proceed to South America*. That these are manned with Frenchmen and are carrying French money (borrowed, very likely, in London), there can be little doubt. But to prevent the establishment of Governments in the Colonies, these armaments are by no means necessary. *The news from Old Spain* will have much more than half destroyed; the bare news, without any thing else; the bare news of the surrender of *Cadiz* to the French; the bare news of this event, will have half destroyed all the works of the revolutionists in the Colonies. If I, seeing England in a state of republican revolution, were to place myself at the head of a revolution in Nova Scotia, and were to declare that country in a state of independence. If I were in this situation, and were to receive news of the Hanoverians having come over to England, and of their having first been received with acclamations of joy in London, and then, taking possession of Portsmouth and Plymouth: if I were to receive such news in Nova Scotia, I should, I believe, think much less about the independence of Nova Scotia than about the saving of my own neck;

and, think Mr. CANNING, what he may, of the matter, he will find that the fall of Cadiz has gone far towards the fate of the "*South American Republics*."

The *Courier* announces to us that, "the great question of South American independence, will, ere long, occupy the Councils of Europe." From those Councils, your Majesty is (as the *Courier* has told us), to be *excluded*; that is to say, your Ministers will have nothing to do with those Councils. Hard, may it please your Majesty, to exclude the deliverers of Europe from the Councils of Europe! But, if these Councils should decide, that South America shall not be independent; then, what have we left but *war*?

In the meanwhile, the Spaniards (that is to say, the French), are sending an armament to the scene of action. England is proceeding by "*BEAT OF DRUM*," and (a thing by no means to be overlooked) the *sister republics* of the North are *sending a squadron*, for the "*suppression of piracy*," in the West India Seas. This is a mere pretext. Four well equipped vessels of war, have just sailed from the Potomac to the West Indies; and I am sure, that no man in his senses will ask for *what*.

The foregoing observations are intended merely as an introduction, to the Petition which I am about to annex; but I cannot conclude this Memorial, without observing on the perverseness; on the wilful blindness of even the most intelligent part of the London Press; on its wonderful obstinacy in disguising from itself, the part which the United States have acted and are acting in this

great drama. This Press has recently informed us of the detection and imprisonment of *two* French spies in Mexico. It was, it seems, discovered, that they were carrying on a "*treasonable correspondence*." A treasonable correspondence with the *French Minister*: not with the French Minister at Paris, however, but with the French Minister at *Washington*! At *Washington*! Carrying on a conspiracy against "*liberty*," even in liberty's own "*Capitol*!" Like *SYPHAX* and *SEMPRONIUS*, carrying on a conspiracy against *CATO*, in *CATO*'s own hall!

Ah, Sir! if you had Ministers that thought less about the safety of the boroughs, and more about the safety of your kingdom, how soon would Englishmen laugh to scorn all the petty hatchings of these conspirators!

In spite of this discovery; in spite of the Act of Congress contained in the subjoined Petition; in spite of the matchless duplicity of acknowledging the independence of Buenos Ayres in newspaper paragraphs, and in no official document; in spite of the sailing of the squadron from the Potomac; in spite of facts sufficient to enlighten the understandings of idiots, the London press still affects, when it is speaking of the affairs of South America, to leave the interest, the disposition and the power of the United States, wholly out of the question! The main object of this Memorial is, to press upon the Public, under the form of an Address to your Majesty, the *necessity of being prepared for the hostility of the United States*. Every day brings forth something to strengthen and

confirm the opinions contained in the following Petition. In it will be found the true clue to the conduct of the United States. But, circumstances have wholly changed, as far as relates to the relative power of those States, as connected with this question. When the Petition was written, they had no ally to support them against *England*. They have now the whole of the House of Bourbon and Russia. If the Spanish Colonies of America, again take their place under the House of Bourbon, England must abandon all those maritime rights, which have been the chief source of her power, and always the rock of her safety; and return under the dominion of the House of Bourbon those Colonies must, unless we send forth fleets and armies to effect and to secure their independence. That your Majesty will, at last, call upon the Parliament for those fleets and armies, I have little doubt; and, when you shall be compelled to do that, may I be permitted to hope, that you will condescend to read the following Petition of

Your Majesty's

Faithful Subject and
Most humble Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

To His Royal Highness the PRINCE,
Regent of the United Kingdom of
Great Britain and Ireland.

The Petition of WILLIAM COBBETT
of Botley in the County of South-
ampton, now residing at North
Hampstead, in the State of New
York, this 17th day of October
1817,

Most humbly Sheweth,

1. THAT, next after the present
situation of England herself, the

object the most interesting to every well-informed and patriotic Englishman must, as your Petitioner humbly presumes to believe, be the present situation of the Spanish Colonies in America, in whose immense and fertile regions there are preparing, and, indeed, there are now in progress, such changes as will, in all human probability, produce a new distribution of wealth and of power amongst the most considerable of the nations of the world; and, as will, at the very least, materially affect many of those nations, not only in a Commercial, but also in a Naval and Military point of view. Of all those nations no one is, as it appears to your humble Petitioner, nearly so deeply interested as England in this grand Revolution, which, if your Royal Highness's Councillors be wise, prompt, and faithful to their King and his People, may greatly tend to restore her to prosperity, may secure to her an undisputed maritime predominance for ages not to be numbered, and may, at the same time, and from the use of the very same means, crown her with the unfading glory of having given freedom to twenty millions of people, who now groan out their lives under the double-thonged scourge of Civil and Religious tyranny.

2. Such being the opinion of your Petitioner, it is impossible for him to refrain from soliciting most humbly, though most earnestly, the attention of your Royal Highness to this important matter. And, he begs leave here to be permitted to represent to your Royal Highness, that, while taking this step, he forgets not the injuries at this time unjustly inflicted on his fellow subjects in general, and on himself in particular; but, that, bearing these in mind, as he trusts he shall, to the last moment of his life, he also bears in mind those sacred obligations of law and of nature, which bind him to the land of his birth,

and which bid him upon this occasion, as upon all other occasions, to make every exertion, within the compass of his humble means, to promote the welfare and advance the honour of England.

3. To the mind of your Royal Highness the bare fact of a Revolution being in existence and agitating the breasts of the whole of the population of a country, which reaches from the 18th degree of North Latitude to the 50th degree of South Latitude; a country which thus extends four thousand miles in length, which, in breadth, at some points, extends three thousand miles, and which is unbroken except by the comparatively trifling possessions of the Portuguese and the Dutch; a country which borders, at one extremity, on the part of the United States, at once the most fertile and the most important as to all probable future military and naval operations; a country which has numerous ports on the side of the Pacific, as well as on that of the Atlantic, ocean; a country, which, to all the articles of European produce adds many articles that are refused by nature even to the most favoured part of the United States; a country, which, while it is cheered by a continual summer on the surface of the earth, has mines beneath inexhaustible in silver and in gold; a country which abounds in, or is capable of producing, almost all the commodities, greatly useful, as imports, to England, and which, at the same time, offers to England the surest, the most extensive, and the best of all possible markets; a country, which, if independent, nature would forbid to become, in any respect, the rival of England, and which from necessity must seek her friendship, and rely, in a great measure, on her power: to the mind of your Royal Highness the bare fact of a Revolution being in actual existence in such a country; to the mind of every one who feels for the inte-

rest and honour of England, this bare fact, as your Petitioner humbly presumes to believe, must suggest the strongest desire to know the true state of that Revolution and to see clearly developed the probable consequences of its ultimate success.

4. Deep is the sorrow of your Petitioner when he reflects on his incapacity to perform this task in a manner worthy of the magnitude and importance of the subject; but, urged thereunto by a sense of imperious duty towards your Royal Highness and his Country, no conviction, however perfect, of his inability can be sufficient to restrain him from making the attempt.

5. Minutely to describe the state of the Revolution in Spanish America; to lay before your Royal Highness in detail the number of men in arms in the several Provinces and Viceroyalties; to state the precise situation of the hostile armies and armaments; to say what are the exact means, which, in the several warlike scenes, the parties possess, or may speedily expect: these would demand a mass of information not only greater than is possessed by your Petitioner, but greater than can, at this time, possibly be possessed by any one man. But, the information which your Petitioner has acquired, not from mere rumour or from published accounts, but from a personal communication with men of high character, coming directly from the spot, enables him confidently to state to your Royal Highness, that, in the Viceroyalty of Mexico, which is the most Northern part of the Spanish Dominions on the Main, and which borders on the United States, the people are wholly disaffected to the government; that they have a Junta, or Assembly of Representatives, in the Province of Valladolid; that they have leaders of great enterprise and talent, and that arms only are wanted to decide, at once, the struggle in their

favour; that the Viceroy, indeed raises troops, but that even these are disaffected towards him; that, on the Atlantic side, the only considerable seaport of this Viceroyalty, La Vera Cruz, is, as yet, in the hands of the Spanish government, but that, to drive the present possessors from that port, and to afford every necessary assistance to the oppressed people, one single English frigate, with twenty thousand stand of arms, sent to the Gulf of Mexico, would be sufficient; that this Viceroyalty, which proposes to form itself into a distinct independent state, has a population of from seven to eight millions, nearly equalling the population of the United States of America, on which it borders on one side, and with regard to the resources and power of which United States, the establishment of the independence of Mexico, must, as your Petitioner will hereafter humbly endeavour to show, have a most important effect.

6. That, with regard to the Second Grand Division of these immense regions, which division includes New Grenada and Venezuela, and which extends from the isthmus of Darien to the mouth of the Orinoco (along more than seven hundred miles of sea coast the most important in every point of view), containing a population of from three to four millions, a declaration of independence, and a new form of government have, long since, been proclaimed; that a war, extensive and sanguinary, has, for years, been going on; that the Patriots have commanders regularly appointed and commissioned; that they have a Representative Assembly, officers of state, a national flag; and, in short, that they exercise the powers of sovereignty over a large portion of this extensive, fertile, rich and important territory. Here, as in the case of Mexico, arms only and a trifling maritime force are wanted to put

an end to the contest, and, as your Petitioner humbly hopes that he shall be able to show, to open to England the fairest prospect of immense advantages.

7. That, in Peru, which forms the Third Division, and which is bounded to the North by the last-mentioned Territory, to the East by the Portuguese Possessions, to the South by the Territory of Chili, and to the West by the Pacific Ocean, and which has a population of from two to three millions, the spirit of independence is as active as in the afore-mentioned territories, and that here also a mere trifle in the way of maritime force and of arms would decide the contest, even, perhaps, without further struggle.

8. That, in the Southern Division, including the Territories of Buenos Ayres and of Chili, and containing a population of from three to four millions, the contest is nearly at an end. The Patriots have established a new Government, and, with the exception of a trifling portion of territory on the borders of the Pacific Ocean, on which Spain is endeavouring to keep up the struggle, the whole of this Division is under the actual control of the Patriot Government.

9. But, though your Petitioner places, in relation to the state of the Revolution, great reliance on the particular information which he has, from most respectable and authentic sources received, he places much greater reliance upon the natural and inevitable tendency of the existence, throughout the afore-mentioned countries, of a general spirit of revolt against oppression and insult exercised by imbecility, and which spirit of revolt, together with which oppression, insult and imbecility are notorious to all the world. The history of nations, as your Petitioner humbly ventures to believe, furnishes no instance of the re-subjugation of a people, once in arms for

their rights and perfectly enlightened as to the nature of those rights, unless such people were overwhelmed by an irresistible combination of foreign Powers, a circumstance that cannot happen to the Spanish Independents, unless through the consent, or the connivance, of England, acting, as in such case she must, not only in violation of the dictates of justice and humanity, but, as your Petitioner humbly hopes he shall be able to show, in direct opposition to her own most important and most permanent interests.

10. In order to obtain an insight as to the probable consequences of the ultimate success of the Revolution of Spanish America, especially as those consequences will affect, permanently as well as for the present, the prosperity and power of England, and that he might be able the better to discharge his duty to your Royal Highness and his country, your Petitioner has carefully attended to the nature of the products throughout the territories which are the subject of his petition. And, as to this matter, he begs leave humbly to beseech your Royal Highness to bear in mind that Mexico produces all those articles of commerce, which are produced in the United States, such as cotton, tobacco, ship-timber, and many others, and, besides these, cochineal, indigo, dye-woods, and mahogany, while it abounds in those mines of silver and of gold, of which the United States have none. The city of Mexico, situated nearly about the centre of this Viceroyalty, and which city contains a hundred and eighty thousand inhabitants, is blessed with a climate that knows no winter; a never-fading verdure clothes the fields; two crops of any kind of European grain are, with facility, made, in the same year, to succeed each other on the same plot of ground, and even two crops of maize, or Indian corn, while one crop of this

latter grain is the utmost that can, even with difficulty, be raised in the Northern part of the United States. In the Division of New Grenada and Venezuela, which approaches more towards the South, all the products of Mexico abound. Here, as to the Mines, silver and gold receive the addition of platina metal. Tobacco is here produced, long acknowledged to be the finest in the world. The vine and the olive have been forbidden by Despotism to produce wine and oil in this their favourite climate, lest these countries should, in this respect, injure Old Spain. At Chili, where the people have been permitted to make wine for their own use only, a proof has been afforded of the eminence to which almost every part of these territories would, if free and independent, speedily arrive, to the great injury, no doubt, of France and Spain and some other of the nations of Europe, but to the incalculable benefit of England. In the Division of Buenos Ayres and Chili; in that of Peru; in every part of these territories, are produced all that the United States produce, with a small portion of the labour required in the latter. Hides and Tallow, from droves roaming at pleasure, unfed and unsheltered, are even now an object of considerable traffic, and, under independent governments, would naturally become such to an immense extent. Lumber, and all the articles in wood, together with flour, rice, and all the articles of food, occasionally necessary to England or to her West India Colonies, and which articles are now chiefly supplied by the United States, would, at a much cheaper rate, all be supplied from Mexico and the other countries bordering on the West India Seas, while the resources arising therefrom to these new nations could not possibly, at any period of time, be employed, like the resources of the United States, in the formation of a marine

threatening to rival, sooner or later, the Navy of England.

11. But amongst the articles, in which Mexico, and more especially New Grenada and Venezuela would supplant the United States, there is one, which your Petitioner humbly presumes to point out as worthy of the particular notice of your Royal Highness. The articles of rice, flour, and tobacco are, each of them, of great importance, but that of *cotton* far surpasses any description within the humble powers of your Petitioner to give. The annual amount of this article of raw material, imported into England from the United States, great as that amount is, bears no proportion in point of consequence to the circumstances of its being the material of one of the greatest English manufactures, giving employment to a multitude of hands, causing an immense capital to be productively employed, and the interruption of a sufficient supply of which raw material must of necessity be attended with injuries too obvious to be detailed and too great not to be, if possible, provided against. In the territories which are the subject of this Petition, and especially in those which border on the Gulf of Mexico, and on the West Indian Sea, cotton is not only naturally of a quality greatly superior to that of the United States, but it is produced at a small portion of the expense demanded by the cultivation of that of the last-mentioned country. So that, if the territories of Spanish America were freed from the monopoly, the restrictions, and all the selfish and oppressive shackles imposed by Spain; if industry and enterprise were left to take their natural course, those countries would furnish the English manufactures with the most essential article of raw material at a price greatly reduced, and the close friendship which must necessarily exist be-

tween England and those territories would prevent the supply from being interrupted by any of the clashing of interest or any of the casualties of war.

12. If your Royal Highness's Ministers, too busily engaged in the promoting of Holy Alliances abroad and in sacrificing the freedom of the people to the interest of an usurping Borough faction at home, have overlooked these obvious commercial consequences of the success of the Revolution in Spanish America, and have also overlooked those still more important consequences of a military and naval character, of which your Petitioner will by-and-by beg to be permitted to speak, the Rulers of the United States, have, as he will now humbly proceed to show, overlooked neither the one nor the other, but seem to have had all those consequences clearly in their view, and to have done all that lay in their power to prevent them accordingly.

13. Your Petitioner will not so far presume the existence of perfidy in your Royal Highness's Envoys, or Ministers, as to suppose your Royal Highness not to have been informed, that the Envoys from the Patriot Governments have been refused to be received, in that capacity, by the Government of the United States; but he does presume, that perfidy, or at least, criminal negligence, must have existed somewhere, because, otherwise, an Act, which was passed by the Congress on the third day of March last, would, with all possible speed, have been laid before your Royal Highness, and in which case your Petitioner is sure that the said Act would have been, by your Royal Highness's order, communicated to the two Houses of Parliament. This being the firm conviction of your Petitioner, he deems it his duty to recite here the words of this Act, and to subjoin to the recital such

matter as appears to him necessary to exhibit a clear view of all the bearings and intentions of this singular and most important document.

" An Act more effectually to preserve the neutral relations of the United States.

" Section 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That if any person shall, within the limits of the United States, fit out and arm, or attempt to fit out and arm, or procure to be fitted out and armed, or shall knowingly be concerned in the furnishing, fitting out or arming of any ship or vessel, with intent that such ship shall be employed in the service of any foreign prince or state, or of any colony, district, or people, to cruise or commit hostilities, or to aid or co-operate in any warlike measure whatever against the subjects, citizens, or property of any prince or state, or of any colony, district, or people with whom the United States are at peace, every such person so offending shall, upon conviction, be adjudged guilty of a high misdemeanor, and shall be punished and imprisoned at the discretion of the court in which the conviction shall be had, so as the fine to be imposed shall in no case be more than ten thousand dollars, and the term of imprisonment shall not exceed ten years; and every such ship or vessel, with her tackle, apparel and furniture, together with all materials, arms, ammunition and stores, which may have been procured for the building and equipment thereof, shall be forfeited, one half to the use of any person who shall give information, and the other half to the use of the United States.

" Section 2. And be it further enacted, That the owners of all

“armed ships, sailing out of the
“ports of the United States, and
“owned wholly or in part by citi-
“zens thereof, shall *enter into bond* to
“the United States, with sufficient
“sureties, prior to clearing out the
“same, in double the amount of
“the value of the vessel and cargo
“on board, including her arma-
“ment, that the said ship or vessel
“shall not be employed by such
“owners, in cruising or committing
“hostilities, or in aiding or co-
“operating in any warlike measure
“against the subjects, citizens, or
“property of any prince or state,
“or of any colony, district, or
“people, with whom the United
“States are at peace.

“Section 3. And be it further
“enacted, That the collectors of
“the customs be, and they are
“hereby respectively authorized
“and required to *detain* any vessel
“manifestly built for warlike pur-
“poses, and about to depart from
“the United States, of which the
“cargo shall principally consist of
“arms and munitions of war, when
“the number of men shipped on
“board, or other circumstances, shall
“render it probable that such ves-
“sel is intended to be employed
“by the owner or owners to cruise
“or commit hostilities upon the
“subjects, citizens, or property of
“any prince or state, or of any
“colony, district, or people, with
“whom the United States are at
“peace, until the decision of the
“President be had thereupon, or
“until the owner enters into bond,
“and sureties to the United States
“prior to clearing out the same,
“in double the amount of the
“value of the vessel and cargo on
“board, including her armament,
“that the said ship or vessel shall
“not be employed by the owner or
“owners, in cruising or committing
“hostilities, or in aiding or co-
“operating in any warlike measure
“against the subjects, citizens or
“property of any prince or state,

“or of any colony, district, or
“people, with whom the United
“States are at peace.

“Section 4. And be it further
“enacted, That if any person shall,
“within the territory or jurisdic-
“tion of the United States, *increase*
“or *augment*, or procure to be in-
“creased or augmented, or shall
“be *knowingly concerned* in increas-
“ing or augmenting the force of
“any ship of war, cruiser, or other
“armed vessel, which at the time
“of her arrival within the United
“States, was a ship of war, cruiser,
“or other armed vessel, in the ser-
“vice of a foreign prince, or state,
“or of any colony, district, or people,
“or belonging to the subjects, or
“citizens of any such prince,
“state, colony, district, or people,
“the same being at war with any
“foreign prince or state, with whom
“the United States are at peace,
“by adding to the number or size
“of the guns of such vessels pre-
“pared for use, or by the addition
“thereto of any equipment, solely
“applicable to war, every such
“person so offending shall, upon
“conviction, be adjudged guilty
“of a misdemeanor, and shall be
“fined and imprisoned, at the dis-
“cretion of the court in which the
“conviction shall be had, so as
“that such fines shall not exceed
“one thousand dollars, nor the
“term of imprisonment be more
“than one year.

“Section 5. And be it further
“enacted, That this Act shall con-
“tinue in force for the term of two
“years.

“H. CLAY,

“Speaker of the House of
“Representatives.

“JOHN GAILLARD,

“President of the Senate,
“pro tempore.

“Approved,

“JAMES MADISON.”

“May 3, 1817.”

14. With regard to the *Title* of this Act, your Petitioner begs leave humbly to represent to your Royal Highness, that it is a perfect novelty, in the history of nations, for any Government to pass laws to punish its citizens or subjects for violating the public laws of neutrality; that the law of nations provides the punishment which, upon this score, nations have deemed to be amply sufficient; that, in virtue of this law, every citizen, or subject, of a neutral State is, if he trade to a belligerent State in articles contraband of war and such as are enumerated in this Act, liable to have those articles seized and condemned by the belligerent with whose enemy he so trades; that this general law of nations has rendered any interference in such cases, on the part of neutral governments, wholly unnecessary; that if individual citizens or subjects, belonging to a neutral State, supply one of the belligerent Powers with arms, or other munitions of war, the other belligerent has no ground of complaint against the neutral State, seeing that such offended belligerent has, by the law of nations, the right, lodged in its own hands, of punishing such individuals. That, the matter has been, thus, wisely settled by the law of nations; for, if neutral States were to acknowledge, as a duty, the passing of laws to punish their citizens or subjects for violations of the laws of neutrality, neutral States would, by such acknowledgment, give to any and to every belligerent a right to demand of them the passing of such laws, and, thus, would one nation have a right to dictate to another nation not only punishments, but the measure of punishments, to be inflicted on that other nation's citizens or subjects; and this, as your Royal Highness need not be reminded, is a species of degradation, to which no really independent nation has ever submitted.

15. It appears, therefore, evident to your Petitioner, and he ventures humbly to express his conviction, that it will appear evident to your Royal Highness and to the whole English People (for whose benefit, as your Royal Highness has publicly and truly declared, your Royal Father wears his crown), that the above-recited Act of the American Congress was not called for by any neutral duty known to the law of nations, and that it could not, in any wise, possibly be necessary to the preservation of the neutral relations of the United States. Besides, it will at once occur to your Royal Highness and to the People of the whole Kingdom to ask, how it happens, that, in order to preserve its neutral relations, an anxiety on the part of the American Government, so extreme as to produce this signal work of supererogation, has now, for the first time, made its appearance to the world? The Government of the United States has had to preserve its neutrality during many years of war amongst the European States, and, which is exactly in point, during a long and sanguinary struggle between France and her important colony of St. Domingo; and yet, as your Petitioner begs leave to state, the Congress has never before passed an Act to punish its citizens for trading in articles contraband of war; and, of course, it has now, for the first time, discovered, that such Acts are necessary to the preservation of its neutral relations, which discovery appears, too, to be the more extraordinary, as its effects manifestly tend to prevent a people, groaning under the worst of Despotisms, from obtaining any share of that freedom and that happiness, to have obtained which by an open war against the Mother Country is the boast of the People of these United States.

16. Moreover, with regard to the *principle* of this law of the

American Congress, your Petitioner begs leave humbly to observe to your Royal Highness, that, it not only imposes a new, and hitherto unheard-of, duty, and a most weighty responsibility, on the Governments which shall adopt it as a precedent; but that cases may frequently arise, in which to act upon this principle, would be, in substance, though not in form, to take a part in the war, and, of course, to commit hostility on one or the other of the belligerents; for, if one of the belligerent nations have, within herself, or, at her command, an ample supply of arms and of all the munitions of war, and if the other must necessarily depend upon neutrals for such supply, your Petitioner humbly conceives that there can be no doubt in the mind of your Royal Highness, that a neutral nation, who should pass an Act, commanding her people to carry arms, or munitions of war, to neither of the belligerents, would, under the outward show of impartiality, be in fact, guilty of obvious partiality in favour of the well-armed and well-provided belligerent; would, in reality, join that belligerent in hostility against the un-armed and un-provided belligerent, and would thus afford full justification to the latter to consider, and act towards, such neutral nation as an enemy. So that the principle, upon which this law of the American Congress professes to proceed, instead of tending to preserve the neutral relations of States, must, as appears to your Petitioner, naturally tend to make such States, sooner or later, parties in every contest between other nations, and, instead of repressing and confining, must tend to render boundless the extent, the duration and the miseries of war.

17. Feeling, as your Petitioner does, profound respect for the American Congress, as the real representatives of a people truly

free, as legislators whose seats are not obtained by the base means of bribery and corruption, as men whose votes are not the price of wealth wrung from the hard hands of a toiling and starving nation; and feeling, too, great gratitude towards the whole American people for that protection which the effects of their wisdom, virtue and valour now afford him against the power of the Borough-faction, who so daringly oppress and insult his native country: with these feelings in his breast, it is with unaffected grief, that your Petitioner, in proceeding most humbly to solicit the attention of your Royal Highness to the provisions of this Act of the Congress, finds himself compelled to express his confident belief, that your Royal Highness will, in the three first Sections of the Act, clearly perceive all that impartiality in words and all that partiality in tendency and in object, so manifest in the above-supposed case; and of which supposed case of pretended neutrality and of real hostility, this Act of Congress is, it appears to your Petitioner, nothing short of a full, practical illustration. But while, in the three first Sections, the Act assumes, and closely wears, the garb of impartiality, in the fourth Section, which is the most material, this garb becomes loosened, and renders visible the real character of the Act. For, while this Section forbids the augmentation of the force of any vessel *belonging to any foreign prince, state, colony, district, or people*, if such prince, state, colony, district, or people be *at war* with any foreign prince or state, with whom the United States are *at peace*; while this Section forbids this, it does *not* forbid the augmentation of the force of any vessel *belonging to any prince, state, colony, district, or people*, if neither of these be *at war* with a prince or state; so that, as Old Spain is not at war with a prince or state, but with colo-

nies, districts, or people, the vessels belonging to Old Spain may enter, receive augmentation of force, and sail out again to make war upon the colonies, which colonies are neither *princes* nor *states*; but the colonies of Spanish America, being at war with a *prince* or *state*, can enjoy none of those advantages which are here exclusively given to their inexorable oppressor.

18. That a Government, founded on the principles of the natural and unalienable rights of man, and arising out of a revolt of colonists against the mother country, because that mother country, by her conduct, gave them good reason to apprehend oppression at some future day; that a Government, chosen by a people, who annually listen to orations from the pulpit, in praise of Revolution, who, by all kinds of demonstrations of joy, celebrate their successful revolt, and who hold in the highest reverence the persons and memory of all the men, who distinguished themselves in the securing of that success; that a Government which boasts, and justly boasts, of exhibiting to the world a practical proof, that the greatest degree of political, civil and religious liberty is perfectly consistent with the greatest degree of public order, tranquillity, and obedience to the laws, and also with the greatest degree of national security in time of war; that a Government, which holds, in the broadest sense, the right of men to cast off, or transfer, their allegiance; which tenders the right of citizenship, and promises protection as citizens, to all men of all nations upon the sole condition of a five years' residence and an oath abjuring all allegiance to their native sovereigns and country; that a Government thus implanted, thus growing up, thus extending its sheltering branches and dropping its nourishing fruits; that such a Government, should have voluntarily

passed an Act, punishing with severity, surpassing, in fact, the penalty of immediate death, such of its own citizens as may aid or abet the colonists of Spain, compared to whose real and actual oppression all that the people of the United States could possibly have apprehended from England was as the finger of the dwarf weighed against the loins of the giant; that such a Government should have passed such an Act, must, if men suppress their indignation, necessarily excite throughout the world the utmost degree of sorrow and surprise.

19. But, if your Royal Highness shall be graciously pleased to advert to what your Petitioner has humbly stated in the foregoing part of this his Petition, relative to the superiority in point of products, and relative to all the numerous commercial advantages, which would enable the Spanish colonies, if become free and independent governments, speedily to rival, to surpass and supplant the United States, and more especially if your Royal Highness shall, in your great condescension, be pleased to suffer your Petitioner humbly to draw your attention to the prodigious effect which the liberation of the Spanish colonies must necessarily have on the United States in a naval and military point of view, your Petitioner is fully persuaded, that all ground for surprise at the passing of the above recited Act of Congress will wholly disappear; and that, though it may be difficult, upon moral principles, to find a justification for that extraordinary measure, the Congress will clearly appear to have displayed, upon this occasion, a degree of political foresight and wisdom equal to that of its legislative energy, it being impossible not to perceive, that the real object of this measure is, to prevent the independence of Spanish America from giving a great

check to the increase of the population, pecuniary resources, commerce, naval power and territorial dominion of the United States.

20. While this enlightened body of legislators so clearly saw, that the independence of Spanish America generally would naturally and necessarily divert the current of European emigration from the United States to the more genial climes of the South, whither the taste for novelty, the love of ease, and the desire of gain, are all pressing invited, and where they are all promised indulgence in the most ample degree; while the Congress clearly saw, that the independence of those countries could not fail to take from the United States the chief part of their export of tobacco, rice, flour and cotton, those staples of their commerce, the Congress also saw, that a proportionate diminution would, from the same cause, arise in the amount of imported articles, which are the objects of exchange for the products exported, and the Custom Duties on which imported articles form the main part of the pecuniary means of the United States wherewith to maintain and increase their Navy and to defray the interest of their Public Debt; while the Congress must have seen clearly, and with great anxiety, these inevitable consequences of the independence of Spanish America generally, that body could not have seen but with real alarm the prospect of the establishment of a free and independent Government in Mexico, a country bordering on the United States for many hundreds of miles, surpassing the United States in white population, having a capital city with nearly two hundred thousand inhabitants, abounding in mines of the precious metals, abounding in ship-timber and in seaports in both oceans, having, from the very nature of things, the absolute command of the mouth of the Mississippi, the

great and only outlet to all the most fertile and flourishing of the United States, and, above all, a country, which every interest and every feeling must necessarily bind in fast and permanent alliance with England.

21. But, while your Royal Highness and His Majesty's faithful People will clearly perceive, that it was, and is, perfectly natural for the Congress to feel anxiety and alarm at the appearance of these impending consequences of the independence of Spanish America; that sentiments of patriotism and considerations of duty might make them dread, and endeavour to prevent, a Revolution, which, if successful, would check the growth of the resources and power of their own country; which would raise up and establish rivals in liberty as well as in power, on the same Continent; which, while it put a stop to the increase of their own marine, would create other American marines, sufficient to cope with theirs in point of force, and naturally in constant rivalry with it; which would make England the absolute arbitress amongst all the transatlantic nations, and which, while it necessarily tended to enrich the manufacturers, merchants and ship-owners of England, as necessarily tended to give to the English Flag an undisputed predominance on the seas for ages beyond the reach of human foresight or calculation: while your Royal Highness and His Majesty's faithful People will perceive, that, with these prospects and considerations in their minds, it was perfectly natural and patriotic in the Congress to endeavour to prevent the success of the Revolution in the Spanish colonies, your Petitioner does not hesitate to express his firm belief, that your Royal Highness and the People will also perceive, that the inactivity, the torpor, the cold-hearted indifference, shown on this occa-

sion, by the Ministers of your Royal Highness, are altogether as unnatural and as unpatriotic, and discover a want of even the most ordinary feeling equally for the interests of the country and for the honour of His Majesty's Crown.

22. It being always less painful to impute mischief to folly than to wickedness, gladly would your humble Petitioner ascribe this inactivity, this torpor, this cold-hearted indifference, so manifestly injurious to his country and his king, and apparently so unaccountable, wholly to that want of talent, that incapacity for the managing of great affairs, that grovelling propensity of mind, for which the Ministers are so strongly characterized and are so notorious; but, the same sense of duty towards your Royal Highness and towards his beloved country, which has urged your Petitioner to submit, with feelings of great diffidence and humility, to your Royal Highness the foregoing representation, also urges him to declare it to be his conviction, though, as an Englishman, the declaration covers him with shame, that this inactivity, this torpor, this cold-hearted indifference, this shameful neglect of the interest, the happiness, and the glory of England, are chiefly, if not solely, to be ascribed to a reluctance to suffer the taking of any part in behalf of the Spanish colonies, lest the principles of Holy Alliances and of pretended Legitimacy should thereby receive their condemnation and their overthrow, and lest, upon the ruins of those detestable principles and upon those of the Borough-faction, the rights and liberties of the People of England, and the just powers and prerogatives of their lawful Sovereign, should be built on sure and lasting foundations; for, while your Petitioner is too well aware of the magnanimity which prevails in the breast

of your Royal Highness, and not less in that of the nation, to suppose either capable of being, upon this occasion, actuated by feelings of revenge for the conduct of the Family of Bourbon, during the North American Revolution, and, while he has too great a dread of the just displeasure of your Royal Highness to suffer him, for one moment, to entertain the thought of daring to suggest to your Royal Highness to act upon the example of that family; he cannot refrain from humbly expressing his hope, that your Royal Highness, who well recollects that memorable instance of envy, insolence and perfidy, will see, therein, no reason that England, by standing with her arms folded, should now make a manifest sacrifice of her present and permanent interests and of her immortal glory, lest, in the frank and honourable pursuit of these, she should sterilize the Vineyards of France, and dry up the sources of the Treasury of Spain.

23. Therefore, your Petitioner, well assured that your Royal Highness can have no feeling, not in perfect harmony with the interest and honour of the nation, and also well assured of your Royal Highness's disposition to listen with indulgence to the representations and prayers of even the most obscure of His Majesty's faithful People, ventures, upon the grounds of that assurance, to pray, that your Royal Highness will be graciously pleased to espouse, in the manner which to your Royal wisdom shall seem meet, the cause of the Colonies and Countries which have been the subject of this his most humble Petition.

And your Petitioner,

As in humble duty bound,

Will ever pray.

WM COBBETT !

IS IT WAR?

OR,

IS IT SHAM?

THE following is from the *Courier of Tuesday Evening*. It had not been seen by me, when the first part of this Register was written.—It is curious. The two passages, which I put in *Italics* ought to be read with the greatest attention.—What, then, “**IS THE GOLD GOING OUT OF THE COUNTRY?**” Do the *Ministers* ask this question?—And, are *our taxes lent by our Jews to our foes?*—Ah! What, are *all, is every one*, of my “*wild doctrines*” to be acknowledged to be sound!—I have no room for any thing more at present; and, therefore, leave the article to the attentive perusal of the reader.

“It is not for the purpose of creating unnecessary uneasiness in the public mind, that we desire all-reflecting men to take a more attentive view of the situation of Europe at the present moment, than any of our contemporaries have taken, of late. Looked at superficially, considered hastily, all things wear a pacific appearance, and persons might almost be tempted to predict, that the repose of the world was little likely to be speedily interrupted. But would any one hazard such a prediction who took more than a superficial view? Are there no seeds sown? Is the horizon so bright and clear? Are there no clouds rising? If we look at home, we find, in-

deed, abundance of capital—trade increasing, manufactures improving, stocks rising, the interest of money lower, and, above all, a mania for foreign loans. It seems as if we invited every nation to borrow money—nay, we are not contented with the European Governments, but are anxiously ransacking the New World, the most remote tribes, to permit us to become lenders. But it is among the European Powers that we remark a most suspicious eagerness to ease us of our superabundant capital—Is that capital applied to pay off debt—to improve commerce—to heal the wounds of war—to enable the Governments to assume with more effect, the garb and attitude of peace? Or is it the fact that the sums borrowed, are kept as sacred and separate funds, in specie, and scarcely touched? Is it true that the gold and silver coin of the country has been for some time exported in large quantities, to the different great Powers upon the Continent? Why are these Powers so rapidly enriching themselves with our money? May it not be strongly suspected that they are collecting, in peace, those sinews of war, on purpose to put themselves in a state of readiness? That they are making preparation? It is probable, nay, from what has lately been communicated to us, it is certain, that many of our politicians do not take this view of affairs—that they treat all such anticipations as gloomy and utterly unworthy of all serious notice.—‘We have received the most friendly assurances from all foreign Powers—remark how unwilling every Continental Government is to create suspicion, or to indulge a war-like system.—Does any difference arise? How easily it is removed—Russia and the Porte!—How anxiously did the Emperor Alexander consent to the most moderate conditions rather than disturb the peace of the world. Equally shocked was the Emperor of Austria at the doubts entertained of his pacific intentions towards Italy.’ This is the language of half-fledged politicians, and half formed diplomatists. But are the elements which constituted the politics of every separate Power no longer in existence?—Are those principles which each has followed with such obstinacy dead and gone?—Have ambition and aggrandizement no longer any charms?—Will any man be so gulled as to suppose that the policy of Catharine has been abandoned by Russia, and that she has relinquished for ever all designs against the

Porte?—But the time is not yet come. Is this Holy Alliance framed and linked together for peace alone, but not for war? Is there nothing in the present policy towards Spain, which should excite suspicion in our minds?—Is it not evident that Ferdinand is tied and bound down to the policy of the Holy Alliance?—We do not say that he would, of his own free will, recognise the Independence of the South American Colonies; but is he not pledged to his Continental Allies to refuse all recognition? Has it not been more recently asserted in the correspondence and speeches of the Russian Minister, Pozzo di Borgo, during his residence at Madrid? Are there no germs of misunderstanding—no seeds of dissension in this? Is it likely that the Power, or Powers, that have, *de facto*, or shall recognise the independence of the Colonies, and the Powers that refused such recognition, will live in the same uninterrupted harmony and intercourse together—that the latter will see the former exclusively extending their sphere of commerce and enriching themselves without the least ill will or ill humour? Is there any man who can believe that Russia, and Austria, and France, and Spain, pledged against any acknowledgment of South American independence, will view, with pacific eyes, another Power in possession of all the advantages that must be derived from her recognition and consequent friendly intercourse with those immense and fertile regions?—But is it to be inferred from this, that we are inviting this country to exhibit a hostile spirit against the European Powers, or to adopt any hostile measures?—certainly not. But do not let us be the willing

agents of their policy; do not let us aid them in their means and measures of preparation. It is quite consistent with a state of peace, to prevent them from raising loans in this country. In what way this can best be done, we know not; but we are quite sure it ought to be done, both as it regards the interests of the State and of individuals, and that the sooner the Legislature adopts some decisive measure upon the subject the better. We hope they will not have to regret that they did not adopt it six years ago."

AMERICAN TREES.

MANY Letters, which have been received, and which have not been answered, will be attended to immediately.—The *White-Oak acorns*, and other *acorns*, and *nuts* of fresh trees, which I expected, have arrived at *Liverpool*; and I shall have them for sale in about twenty days' time. The price will depend on the *state* of the things. I shall sell none that are not *good*; and, if a large portion be *bad* (which is often the case) the good must be the dearer.

MARKETS.

Average Prices of CORN throughout ENGLAND, for the week ending 13th December.

Per Quarter.	s.	d.
Wheat	50	8
Rye	31	3
Barley	27	6
Oats	20	7
Beans	35	6
Peas	33	2

Corn Exchange, Mark Lane.

Quantities and Prices of British Corn, &c. sold and delivered in this Market, during the week ended Saturday, 13th December.

Qrs.	£.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Wheat 10,942 for 30,183	9	2	Average, 55	2	
Barley... 8,831.... 12,698	16	4 28	9	
Oats... 9,632.... 11,619	16	5 24	1	
Rye.... —	—	— —	—	
Beans... 2,102.... 3,923	7	7 37	3	
Peas.... 2,675.... 4,762	8	4 35	7	

Quarters of English Grain, &c. arrived Coastwise, from Dec. 15 to Dec. 20, inclusive.

Wheat... 5,979	Pease.... 2,093
Barley... 5,339	Tares..... —
Malt 4,152	Linseed.... —
Oats.... 9,123	Rape 35
Rye 34	Brank..... 47
Beans.... 1,387	Mustard.... —

Various Seeds, 209 qrs.—Flour, 8,023 sacks.

From Ireland.—Oats, 8,410 qrs.

Foreign.—Linseed, 820 qrs.

Friday, Dec. 19.—The arrivals of Grain in general this week are moderate. Wheat finds buyers readily at 2s. per quarter advance on the prices of Monday. Barley is brisk in disposal, and again looking upwards. In Beans and Peas there is no alteration. Oats meet a brisk trade, and fully maintain the prices quoted at the beginning of this week.

Monday, Dec. 22.—The arrivals of all descriptions of Corn last week were tolerably good, and this morning there is a considerable quantity of Wheat from Essex and Kent, but a deficient supply from other parts. Barley, Beans, Peas, and Oats, are here in middling quantities, hardly sufficient for the present demand. The Wheat trade this morning commenced brisk, and 3s. to 4s. per quarter advance was obtained on the prices of last Monday, but the trade became duller towards the close, and the morning's rates were not quite supported.

Malting Barley is further advanced 1s. to 2s. per quarter, and grinding parcels sell on rather better terms. Beans and Grey Peas are each 1s. per quarter higher. The trade for Oats has been lively since this day se'nnight, and dry samples obtain rather more money, but the general trade has only realized the prices of that day; we therefore do not alter the quotations. Flour is in unsettled state:

at two o'clock it was not decided whether that trade should be advanced 5s.

Flour, per sack 50s. to 55s.
 ——— Seconds 45s. — 48s.
 ——— North Country .. 40s. — 44s.

Price of Bread.—The price of the 4lb. Loaf is stated at from 6½d. to 9½d.

SMITHFIELD, Monday, Dec. 22.

Per Stone of 8 pounds (alive).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	3	0	to	4 0
Mutton.....	3	4	—	4 2
Veal.....	4	6	—	5 6
Pork.....	4	0	—	5 2

Beasts... 2,689 | Sheep... 13,510
 Calves 91 | Pigs 170

NEWGATE (same day).

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef.....	2	4	to	3 4
Mutton.....	2	6	—	3 6
Veal.....	3	4	—	5 4
Pork.....	3	2	—	5 2

LEADENHALL (same day).

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef.....	2	4	to	3 8
Mutton.....	2	8	—	3 6
Veal.....	3	4	—	5 8
Pork.....	3	0	—	5 4

POTATOES.

SPITALFIELDS.—per Ton.

Ware £ 2 0 to £ 3 15
 Middlings..... 1 10 — 1 15
 Chats..... 1 10 — 0 0
 Common Red.. 0 0 — 0 0
 Onions.. 0s. 0d.—0s. 0d. per bush.

BOROUGH.—per Ton.

Ware..... £ 2 5 to £ 3 10
 Middlings..... 1 15 — 2 0
 Chats..... 1 15 — 0 0
 Common Red.. 0 0 — 0 0
 Onions.. 0s. 0d.—0s. 0d. per bush.

HAY and STRAW, per Load.

Smithfield.—Hay.... 75s. to 100s.
 Straw... 32s. to 40s.
 Clover... 85s. to 115s.
 St. James's.—Hay.... 65s. to 110s.
 Straw... 36s. to 42s.
 Clover... 84s. to 110s.
 Whitechapel.—Hay.... 88s. to 110s.
 Straw... 36s. to 44s.
 Clover... 90s. to 130s.

Price of HOPS, per Cwt. in the BOROUGH.

Monday, Dec. 22.—Our Market gets bare of 1822 Pockets, which are enquired for at improved prices. New Pockets are rather dearer: accounts continue to be received from various quarters of the decayed state of the hills, from the effect of the late blight. Currency : —Pockets, 1823, 8l. 15s. to 14l.; 1822, 8l. to 10l.; 1821, 90s. to 112s.; 1819 and 1820, 65s. to 80s.

Maidstone, Dec. 18.—Our Hop trade continues so very dull we can hardly call it a market. The prices are quoted about the same, but there is nothing stirring.

Worcester, Dec. 13.—Sixteen pockets of Old Hops were this day weighed in our market. Very little doing, and that at a reduction in price: 1818, 40s. to 56s.; 1819, 80s. to 100s. fine; 1820, 70s. to 84s. ditto; 1821, 70s. to 105s. ditto; 1822, 120s. to 160s. per ditto.

COAL MARKET, Dec. 17.

Ships at Market. Ships sold. Price.

145½ Newcastle. 42½. 36s. 6d. to 44s. 0d.
145½ Sunderland 42½. 36s. 0d. — 42s. 6d.

COUNTRY CORN MARKETS.

By the QUARTER, excepting where otherwise named; from Wednesday to Saturday last, inclusive.

The Scotch Markets are the Returns of the Week before.

WHEAT.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Uxbridge, per load	12l.	0s.	18l.	0s.
Aylesbury... ditto	9l.	0s.	15l.	10s.
Newbury	46	0	—	76
Reading	42	0	—	70
Henley	48	0	—	74
Banbury	44	0	—	69
Devizes	42	0	—	67
Warminster	42	0	—	66
Sherborne	0	0	—	0
Dorchester, per load ...	11l.	0s.	17l.	0s.
Exeter, per bushel	8	6	—	9
Lewes	48	0	—	66
Guildford, per load	12l.	0s.	17l.	10s.
Winchester, ditto	12l.	0s.	17l.	5s.
Basingstoke	42	0	—	60
Chelmsford, per load ..	9l.	10s.	14l.	10s.
Yarmouth	54	0	—	60
Hungerford	45	0	—	66
Lynn	42	0	—	60
Horncastle	48	0	—	55
Stamford	44	0	—	59
Northampton	45	0	—	51
Truro, 24 galls. to a bush.	0	0	—	0
Swansea, per bushel	8	0	—	0
Nottingham	57	0	—	0
Derby, 34 quarts to bush.	54	0	—	64
Newcastle	38	0	—	66
Dalkeith, per boll *	20	0	—	35
Haddington, ditto *	25	0	—	34

* The Scotch boll is 3 per cent more than 4 bushels.

Liverpool, Dec. 16.—During the past week, the imports of which have been far from considerable, there was some speculation gone into for the purchase of both English and Irish Wheats at an advance on each, as well as on Flour, Oats, and Oatmeal. The market of this day was but indifferently attended by country dealers; but the spirit for speculation remaining lively at home, there was a fair business done at an advance of 3d. per bushel on the finest English Wheats, and on the lower qualities of Irish 6d. per bushel, leaving the average price on the former 7s. 6d. to 10s. per 70 lbs., and on the latter 6s. 9d. to 8s. 9d. per 70 lbs. English Oats 3s. to 3s. 6d. per 45 lbs., and Irish 3s. to 3s. 4d. per 45 lbs. Barley also improved 6d. per 60 lbs., as did Oats 1d. to 2d. per 45 lbs. Flour 2s. to 3s., and Oatmeal 1s. to 2s. per sack higher.

Imported into Liverpool, from the 9th to the 15th December 1823 inclusive:—Wheat, 3,810; Oats, 9,145; Barley, 2,019; Malt, 102; and Beans, 228 quarters. Oatmeal, 126 packs, per 240 lbs. Flour, 1,230 sacks.

Norwich, Dec. 22.—There was a good deal of briskness in the trade here to-day, at an advance of price, particularly for prime samples of Wheat, which fetched from 56s. to 62s.; Barley, 28s. to 31s.; Oats, 20s. to 24s. per quarter. So great has been the demand for Rye to convert into breakfast powder, that this article has advanced from 28s. to 56s. per quarter.

Bristol, Dec. 20.—The markets at this place are rather better supplied with Corn, &c. than they have been, and prices at present are about as follow:—Best Wheat from 8s. to 8s. 3d.; inferior ditto, 4s. 6d. to 6s. 6d.; Barley, 2s. 6d. to 4s.; Beans, 3s. 6d. to 5s. 3d.; Oats, 2s. to 2s. 10d.; and Malt, 4s. 6d. to 6s. 9d. per bushel. Flour, Seconds, 30s. to 48s. per bag.

Birmingham, Dec. 18.—The prices of Wheat and Flour have again risen in this market; the former about 4*d.* per 60 lbs., and the latter 2*s.* per sack. Barley has also advanced 2*s.* per quarter. Beans and Peas met a more ready sale at the last quotations. Oats and Malt steady. There was a pretty good show of Barley and New Wheat: the sales of both were brisk, and the whole nearly cleared off. The retail price of Flour has advanced 2*d.* per 14 lbs.

Ipswich, Dec. 20.—We had to-day a good supply of every thing but Beans, and the market was much dearer. Prices as follow:—Old Wheat, 56*s.* to 63*s.*; New ditto, 48*s.* to 60*s.*; Barley, 24*s.* to 33*s.*; Beans, New, 32*s.* to 35*s.*; Peas, 30*s.* to 31*s.*; and Oats, 22*s.* to 26*s.* per quarter.

Wisbech, Dec. 20.—Good dry barn samples of Wheat met with a ready sale, at an advance of full 2*s.* per quarter; and the second and ordinary sorts equally so in advance. Oats rather brisker in demand. Beans without alteration.

Boston, Dec. 17.—We had at this day's market a good supply of all kinds of Grain, which was carried off at better prices than what has been of late, and still continues to be up, and sold as follows:—Wheat, New, 50*s.* to 56*s.*; Old ditto, 58*s.*; Oats, 18*s.* to 22*s.*; Beans, New, 26*s.*; Old ditto, 36*s.* to 39*s.* per quarter.

Wakefield, Dec. 19.—We have a short supply of Grain up the river, but a good supply by the farmers; having many buyers, fine Wheats, new and old, are eagerly bought up at an advance of full 3*s.* to 4*s.* per quarter.—Malting Barley is in demand at an advance of full 3*s.* per quarter: no alteration in Grinding Barley.—Oats are $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* per stone, and Shelling 1*s.* per load higher.—Beans, old and new, are ready sale

at 1*s.* to 2*s.* per quarter advance.—Malt 2*s.* per quarter higher.—Flour is 2*s.* per bag dearer.—No alteration in other articles.

Malton, Dec. 20.—The Corn markets here appear more lively than they have for some weeks, and more money given, especially for Old Wheat, New dry ditto, and good Barley. Prices as follow:—Old Wheat, 64*s.* to 72*s.*; New ditto, 60*s.* to 62*s.* per quarter, five stone per bushel. Barley, 30*s.* to 33*s.* per quarter. Oats, 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* to 12*d.* per stone.

COUNTRY

CATTLE AND MEAT MARKETS, &c.

Norwich Castle Meadow, Dec. 20.—On account of the badness of the day but little business was done to-day, and that at rather lower rates, say from 3*s.* 6*d.* to 4*s.* per stone for lean Beasts out of the drove. We do not know whether the above be quite comprehensible to distant readers; but it may be thus explained.—A Norfolk man, on buying a lot of lean bullocks, calculates from their frame, bone, &c. when lean, what weight they will attain when fat. If, for instance, he estimate them to come to 40 stone (the stone here always meaning 14 lbs.) and he is asked 8*l.* a piece for them, he reckons that they cost him 4*s.* a stone. Sheep are rather lower, especially fat things; Hoggets are worth from 18*s.* to 22*s.* according to quality.—Turkeys, owing to the badness of the day, declined very much in price towards the close of the market; the same fowls for which 1*s.* per lb. were asked in the morning, might be bought in the afternoon for 7*d.*

Horncastle, Dec. 20.—Beef 5*s.* to 6*s.* per stone of 14 lbs.; Mutton 4*d.* to 5*d.*; Pork 5*d.* to 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*; and Veal 6*d.* to 7*d.* per lb.

Bristol, Dec. 18.—Beef at 5d. to 5½d.; Mutton 5d. to 6d.; and Pork 4d. to 5d. per lb. sinking offal.

Malton, Dec. 20.—Meat in the shambles:—Beef 4½d. to 6½d.; Mutton 4½d. to 6d.; Pork 5½d. to 6½d.; and Veal 5½d. to 6½d. per lb. Fresh Butter, 13d. to 14½d. per lb.; Salt ditto, 42s. to 43s. per firkin. Fat Pigs, with head and feet on, 4s. 4d. to 4s. 8d.; stripped for salting, 4s. 8d. to 5s. per stone.

Morpeth market on Wednesday was well supplied with Cattle and

Sheep; there being a great demand, fat sold readily at last week's price.—Beef from 4s. 6d. to 5s. 6d.; and Mutton 4s. 3d. to 5s. 3d. per stone, sinking offals.

At **Wakefield** market last week, there was a large supply both of Beasts and Sheep; but as the approach of Christmas brought an unusual number of buyers thither, a brisk demand took place, and both met with ready sale, fully supporting the prices of the preceding market.—Beasts, 504; Sheep and Lambs, 9,550.

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